

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07

DHA-05 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 /114 W

-----048346 101539Z /45

O 101450Z SEP 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8759

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4684

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 8

REF: STATE 216875

1. THE MAIN CONSIDERATION IN DEVISING THE WITHDRAWAL SCENARIO CONTAINED REFTEL WAS TO ESTABLISH A STARTING POINT FROM WHICH TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE TWO SIDES. THE OBJECTIVE FROM THERE IS, OF COURSE, TO FIND A BALANCE BETWEEN SWAPO'S CONCERN WITH THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE SAG'S MILITARY PRESENCE AND SOUTH AFRICA'S CONCERN FOR SECURITY.

2. UNDER OUR PROPOSALS THE BALANCE IS TIPPED TOWARD SOUTH  
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AFRICA IN THE SENSE THAT (A) THE POLICE WOULD REMAIN IN PLACE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER; (B) A RESIDUAL MILITARY PRESENCE WOULD BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN AT GROOTFONTEIN AND PRESUMABLY WALVIS BAY WOULD CONTINUE AS SA TERRITORY FOR A WHILE LONGER WITH SA FORCES STATIONED THERE; AND (C) SWAPO FORCES WOULD BE REQUIRED TO LEAVE THE TERRITORY AND UN FORCES WOULD MOVE

IN TO PREVENT INCURSIONS FROM ANGOLA, WHETHER SWAPO OR CUBAN.  
SWAPO, ON THE OTHER HAND, MUST BE CONTENT WITH A STRONG UN  
PRESENCE TO INSURE AN APPROPRIATE CLIMATE.

3. GIVEN THIS CORRELATION, WE ANTICIPATE THAT SWAPO WILL  
WANT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SA FORCES TO TAKE PLACE AT A FAIRLY  
RAPID PACE. WE PROJECTED A SUBSTANTIAL WITHDRAWAL BY THE  
END OF THREE MONTHS AS A MEANS OF WINNING SWAPO'S ACQUIES-  
CENCE TO THE PACKAGE. WHETHER IN THE END THE WITHDRAWAL  
PLAN SPANS THREE OR FIVE MONTHS AND THE RESIDUAL FORCE  
IS FIXED AT 500 OR 2,000 ARE MATTERS THAT WILL BE DETERMINED  
BY THE FLEXIBILITY OF THE PARTIES IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

4. IN ADDRESSING THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE WITHDRAWAL  
ISSUE WE SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND--AND USE AS AN ARGUMENT  
FOR EARLY WITHDRAWAL--THAT THE SAG JUSTIFIES ITS MILITARY  
PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA IN TERMS OF THE SWAPO AND CUBAN "THREAT"  
FROM ANGOLA. (SEE PRETORIA 3807). IF SWAPO ACCEPTS THE  
COMMITMENT TO CEASE ARMED INTERVENTION (AS VORSTER DEMANDED  
IN OUR MEETING OF AUGUST 1) AND THE UN MOVES IN ELEMENTS  
ALONG THE ANGOLA-NAMIBIA BORDER TO ENFORCE THE CEASEFIRE,  
A VERY SUBSTANTIAL PART OF SOUTH AFRICA'S CASE FOR KEEPING  
TROOPS IN NAMIBIA IS REMOVED.

5. IN BARGAINING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WE OBVIOUSLY  
DO NOT WANT TO ADVANCE PROPOSALS THAT MIGHT PROVOKE THEM  
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INTO EMOTIONAL REACTIONS WHICH WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE WHOLE  
EFFORT; BUT THEY ARE TOUGH NEGOTIATORS AND, AS THE CONTACT  
GROUP HAS EXPERIENCED, ARE QUITE ADEPT AT USING THEATRICALS  
AND THREATS TO GAIN POINTS. AS A NEGOTIATING TACTIC, I  
RECOMMEND THAT IN WHATEVER WITHDRAWAL PLAN MIGHT BE SUGGESTED  
TO THEM WE MIGHT INITIALLY LEAVE A FEW DATES AND FORCE LEVELS  
BLANK TO TEST THEIR REACTION, EMPHASIZING AT THE SAME TIME  
HOW THE LAW AND ORDER/SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ARE SKEWED IN  
THEIR FAVOR.  
BOWDLER

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Subject:** NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 8  
**TAGS:** PORG, SF, WA, UN, SWAPO  
**To:** STATE USUN NEW YORK  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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